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614 South 57 Street, Omaha, Nebraska 68106

January 30, 1986

Yale Richmond
National Endowment for Democracy
1156 Fifteen Street, N.W. Suite 304
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Yale:

Attached please find a copy of the progress report for the third quarter of the grant. This report covers the programmatic and financial aspect of the Afghanistan Basic Education Project from October 1, 1985 to December 31, 1985.

During the past five months Luis Dupree, a member of the Board of Governors of the American Friends of Afghanistan, Moqim Rahmanzai, Project Coordinator for the AFA, and I have visited the Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance in Islamabad. We have reported on the observation of Professors Dupree and Rahmanzai previously. We appreciated that you and your staff had a chance to discuss the project in some depth with Professor Rahmanzai during his recent visit to NED.

I am hopeful that I might have a chance to share my impressions of the project with you and your staff in the afternoon of 5 February and or on 21 March. On the latter date, there is a great likelihood that Sabahuddin Kushkaki Project Team Chief, will be in DC along with Professor Rahmanzai and I.

Briefly, I was heartened by what I observed in Islamabad and Peshawar concerning our project. There appeared to be a serious and positive regard for its accomplishments and approach to date. This is not an easy project to evaluate given the cross-border nature of it, but I am confident that the project is progressing even beyond my own personal expectations. I would enjoy expanding these observations in person with you and your staff.

In the meantime, I would enjoy hearing from you and would welcome any thoughts or questions you may wish to present by phone.

Sincerely,

Thomas E. Gouttierre

President

T. E. Gouttierre
PS. Y'all,
Perhaps it might be appropriate to consider
some manner of press conference soon. What
do you think?
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PPS. Enclosed are articles generated by my
recent trip to the field.

PROGRAM REPORT

AFGHANISTAN BASIC EDUCATION PROJECT

During the past five years, one of the areas of concern that the American Friends of Afghanistan (AFA) had continuously expressed to all who might listen has been the educational needs of the Afghans inside Afghanistan and among Afghans outside of their country.

Among the educational needs of the Afghans that the AFA is attempting to help meet are the need for the establishment of a number of primary schools, literacy centers for Afghan freedom fighters, and distribution of recorded cassettes inside Afghanistan to help students and freedom fighters in their efforts to understand world problems and become responsible citizens. Another thing that the Afghan people lack is the presence of the media in order to alert the outside world to the tragic situation in their country. In order to fill this void, the AFA is sponsoring an effort to have six TV cameramen trained for the purpose of photographing the events inside of Afghanistan for media distribution. The establishment of a document center is also on the list of efforts sponsored by the AFA.

In order to accomplish these goals, the AFA has proposed to sponsor a pilot project to provide educational opportunities for Afghans now deprived of their right to education by the tragic circumstances which envelop their country. To promote democratic principles and values within the Afghan Resistance, the project would concentrate on basic education and literacy programs in those areas controlled by the Afghan Resistance.

To implement the objectives of the project, the AFA proposed to work with the already established Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance, which is a voluntary organization of intellectuals that is based in Islamabad, Pakistan.

Program Objectives:

The pilot project has the following objectives:

1. To support and expand the work of the Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance in writing and publishing textbooks in Afghan languages.
2. To select, prepare, and dispatch experienced Afghan Teachers into Resistance-controlled areas to educate children in basic school subjects including Civics.
3. To provide literacy programs for the freedom fighters, many of whom are men who are idle much of the time waiting for military action and who could spend some of the time learning to read and write.
4. To establish a document center within the CCAR for the purpose of selecting, preserving, and developing materials relating to Afghan history, tradition, culture, and current events.

Description of the Actual Project Activities:

During the third quarter of the grant, the first phase of the project; which includes Preparation of textbooks, Teachers Guides, Supplementary educational materials, producing Audio cassettes, and the training of teachers and cameramen has been completed. The materials are published in both Dari and Pashto languages.

1. A total of 38 textbooks had to be written anew and now this task is completed.
2. A total of 17 textbooks have been adopted, and printed.
3. A school in Balkh province has been opened and the remaining schools will start functioning in February.
4. Six individuals are trained in Photography and the use of Video equipments.
5. Supplementary educational materials are produced in tapes and ready to be sent to the interior of the country.
6. Two more documents of the major uprising by the Afghans against communist rule have been produced.

Actual Results and Accomplishments:

The successful implementation of the Afghanistan Basic Education project is directly related to the quality of the textbooks, relevant to the Afghan culture and society and the current situations, which has been forced on the nation by the Soviet invasion. The CCAR staff have written a good number of books, some have been rewritten, others adopted, and still more books revised. The newly written and published books are as follows:

Textbooks and Teachers Guides:

Pashto Readers Books, Grade 1 to 6	6 Volume
Dari Readers Books, Grade 1 to 6	6
Islamic Education, Grades 2 and 3 (Pashto)	2
Islamic Education, Grade 3 (Dari)	1
Teachings from the holy Quran, Grades 2 to 6(Pashto)	5
Teachings from the holy Quran, Grades 2 to 6(Dari)	5
Mathematics, Grades 2 to 6 (Pashto)	4
Mathematics, Grade 2 to 6 (Dari)	4
Islamic Education, Teachers Guide, Grade 3 (Dari)	1
Teachings from the holy Quran, Teachers Guide Grade 5, (Dari)	1
Teachers Guide for Readers, Grade 1 to 6 (Pashto)	1
Teachers Guide for Readers, Grade 1 to 6 (Dari)	1
Adult Education, Book I (Pashto)	1
Adult Education, Book I (Dari)	1
Arabic, Grade 4,	1

The following books are adopted from the ones that were available:

Mathematics, Grade 1 to 3 (Pashto)	3
Mathematics, Grade 1 to 3 (Dari)	3
Islamic Education, Grade 4 to 6 (Pashto)	3
Islamic Education Grade 4 to 6 (Dari)	3
Readers, Grade 4, (English)	1
Natural Science, Grade 4, (Dari)	1
Natural Science, Grade 4, (Pashto)	1
Social Science, Grade 4, (Pashto)	1
Social Science, Grade 4, (Dari)	1

Centers for Development and Literacy Centers:

The first Center of Development has started and has roomed six classes, grades level 1,2&3. Seven teachers are hired. Teachers salaries, textbooks, supplementary teaching materials and other necessary supplies have been sent to the school.

All other Centers for Development and Literacy Centers will open in February 86. The preliminary work for the opening of these centers is completed. Teachers are selected, trained and ready to go ahead and start teaching soon.

Vedio training course for six individuals representing the seven party alliance of the Afghan Mujahideen in Pakistan has been completed.

The recording program for the purpose of providing supplementary educational materials in audio cassettes has started. These tapes will be prepared in both Dari and Pashto languages.

Constant efforts have been made to strengthen the documentation center, and it involves the following:

1. Keeping klippings of all major Pakistani news papers of Afghanistan related subjects.
2. Monitoring BBC and the Voice of America's Afghan services which is transcribed and filled in classical bases.
3. FBI's radio broadcast, which is delivered through USIS office in Islamabad; the Afghan related materials have been extracted from them.
4. Recording and transcription of the Afghan Freedom Fighters' commanders.
5. Purchasing books on Afghanistan, dealing with issues after 1978.
6. Card cataloguing of all the materials in the Documentation Center.
7. Two documents of the Major Uprising series, "Dara-e Soof" and "Kunar" have been published.



January 1, 1986

Quarterly Report (October-December 1985)
Afghanistan Educational Project

It has been more than seven months now that we have started work on the Afghanistan Educational project and we are just about to finish the first phase of the project.

1. Preparing the text books,
2. Selecting the sites and commanders under whose command the schools and literacy centers are to be operated,
3. Launching the photography course for six mujaheddin belonging to different resistance groups,
4. Preparing ourselves to start the recording and then distribution of cassettes to Afghan population inside Afghanistan.

Now, I offer details about each of these items:

1. It took us much longer than we had anticipated to prepare the text books. Because, as mentioned in two previous quarterly reports, contrary to our initial decision that we may use the available text books, we had to write anew 37 new text books and teachers' guides. These books are:

- 6 Readers, grades 1-6 in Pashtu,
- 6 Readers, grades 1-6 in Dari
- 2 Islamic Education, grades 2-3 in Pashtu
- 1 Islamic Education, grade 3 in Dari



At any rate, the books we have adopted from the ones already available are:

- 3 Mathematics grade 1-3 in Pashtu,
- 3 Mathematics grade 1-3 in Dari,
- 3 Islamic Education, grades 4-6 in Pashtu,
- 3 Islamic Education, grades 4-6 in Dari,
- 1 Reader, grade 4 in English,
- 1 Natural Science, grade 4 in Pashtu,
- 1 Natural Science, grade 4 in Dari,
- 1 Social Science, grade 4 in Pashtu,
- 1 Social Science, grade 4 in Dari.

All these books have been thoroughly revised by the CCAR and made fit for printing and then sent to the press.

The CCAR has decided that during the first year of the project only one English language, one Arabic, one natural science and one social science book, should be thought in grades 4-6. In coming year we will provide books for other grades. This decision has been taken on the assumption that due to war conditions despite their ability to learn reading and writing, children have not had the opportunity to study subjects such as English, Arabic, natural or social sciences.

It should also be recalled from our previous indications that the International Rescue Committee (ICR) and Islamic Relief Agency (IRA) had agreed to publish a number of our books for us. The CCAR budget had an allowance of only Rps. 117000 for publishing text books (only 300 copies from each subject). Demand for our



- 5 Teachings from the Holy Quran, grades 2-6 in Pashtu,
- 5 Teachings from the Holy Quran, grades 2-6 in Dari,
- 3 Mathematics, grades 3-6 in Pashtu,
- 3 Mathematics, grades 3-6 in Dari,
- 1 Teachers Guide, Islamic Education, grade 3 in Dari,
- 1 Teachers Guide, Teachings from the Holy Quran, grade 5, in Dari,
- 1 Teachers Guide, Readers, grades 1-6 in Pashtu,
- 1 Teachers Guide, Readers, grades 1-6 in Dari,
- 1 Adult Education, Book 1, in Pashtu,
- 1 Adult Education, Book 1, in Dari,
- 1 Arabic, grade 4 Pashtu-Dari.

Of these 37 books, 6 of them have yet to be sent to the press but we definitely anticipate that they will all be sent to the press in a fortnight from this date.

In addition to the fact that, contrary to our anticipation, we had to write a large number of the books anew, we had to wait until mid-September for the Teachers College of Columbia University to send us the books which were published in Afghanistan in late 60s and early 70s. However, when these books arrived, still a number of our problems could not be solved. For instance, some of the books were simply not available, e.g. Social Sciences grade 5-6, Natural Sciences grade 6, English language books, mathematics grade 4-6, etc. Furthermore, the photocopy versions of these books did not have good quality and pictures on various pages were not clear at all. You may imagine what difficulties we had to go through.



books, published so far, has been so great that it was a pity to publish only 300 copies from each. The ICR published for us 10 of our books (some of them reprints of books written by CCAR) and the IRA, 9 of our books. The ICR published 2000 copies from each book and IRA 5000 copies from five books and 2000 from the remaining. Thus the savings made in this way in our own budget allowed us to publish more copies from the books we had to publish at our own expense. Now, we have been publishing 1000 copies from each book.

We are sure that the demand for our books will be so great that we have to solicit funds for publishing more copies. This is an extremely important field and may we ask you to see in what ways you can help us to secure for us more funds. It is not practical and, indeed, is counter productive to ask the mujaheddin who want our books for their school to pay for them.

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2. We have decided to give the go-ahead signal to opening the schools and literacy centers early in February 1986. That will be the time when, through our contacts with the liaison officers from each resistance group, we will embark on dispatching the books and fixing dates for opening the schools.

As a result of an unavoidable misunderstanding, one school with six 1-3 grades have been opened in the Balkh province. The school is operated by the commander belonging to Jamiat-e-Islami Afghanistan. In that area it was not possible to open grades 4-6, because no qualified students were available for the upper grades.



This school (the location of its site is to remain secret) has hired seven teachers and, as to be noted in the expenditure columns, has received its money for school supplies for the entire academic year. These supplies have been purchased locally. Because purchasing them from the Pakistan markets will be too expensive and an unnecessary burden to be carried. Teachers' salaries are sent on monthly basis. One month's salary has already been sent to the teachers and we are waiting for the receipts. The second month's salary has been given to the liaison officer. He has not been able to send this second salary because of the snow which has blocked Mujaheddin supply routes. We gave to this school the books that were available then. Those books were sent. The rest of the books have been delivered to the liaison officer. But, like the salary, he has not been able to send it due to snow conditions.

As already mentioned in our previous assessments, the only way available for us to know whether these schools are actually operating is to dispatch from time to time inspectors to the sites. These inspectors ought to be the kind of people who may travel through normal routes. We have recruited one such inspector (his identity is to remain secret). He will be dispatched in the near future to Balkh to bring us an on-the-spot report about this first school.

Throughout this difficult and indeed, hectic period of work on preparing books, we have been in constant touch with the commanders and with resistance leaders to keep them abreast about the progress of our work and maintain a mutual assurance that the educational centers will be opened as soon as we are through with the task of publishing books.

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3. We were able to launch the TV photography course on December 28, 1985. The sad story about the behavior of Mr. Rob Schultze is told in a letter to himself and provided to Dr. Gouttierre and also enclosed with this letter. I would not elaborate on it further in this report.

However, we were fortunate to have available here in Pakistan an Afghan TV Cameraman who used to work for the Afghan film (a Ministry of Information concern before the Communist takeover of 1978). He proved to be a fine teacher. Next week on the basis of arrangements made by one of the leaders of Peshawar based resistance organizations, these students will go for shooting practices to a guerrilla training center.

We officially train 6 persons for the course. They belong to five different groups. They have been selected in agreement with the mujaheddin leaders. We are hoping that they will be able to send us some fine and unbiased pictures. I hope to hold some lengthy discussions with Dr. Gouttierre, foreign correspondents and foreign embassy staff here in Pakistan about ways to furnish these pictures, on a mutually agreed basis, to the media.

I visited Sweden to participate in a seminar on Afghanistan from December 6-8. During my stay in Stockholm, I was interviewed by Peter Lofgren who runs the "Rapport" news show for Swedish TV. His show goes on the air at prime time. I told him about the project. He enthusiastically agreed to buy our films.

We have to work out concrete and sure methods for handing over the cameras to these students. We will do this in consultation with mujaheddin leaders.



We have to work out ways to get these films from the interior of the country in the shortest time possible, etc.

As already related to Dr. Mohammad Moqim Rahmanzai on the telephone, two of our cameras and one video machine is missing on the way to us. We hope to locate these. Otherwise, two of our cameramen have to wait for a long time before we get them new cameras.

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4. Our recording program for producing cassettes, to be distributed inside Afghanistan, has already begun. The program could not be launched earlier after the purchase of necessary equipment because we had to send a reporter to record voices and the necessary "actualities". Now we have recorded enough of these and hope to do the actual recording next week. On the basis of our budget allocations we will find how many cassettes we can produce for each program. Each program has to be recorded in Pashtu and Dari separately.

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Documentation and Research Center

Through out these months, constant efforts have been made to strengthen our documentation center. We have produced two more documents in our series on major uprisings by Afghans against communist rule. They are the (a) Dara-e-Sooof and (b) Kunar uprisings.



We have been:

1. Keeping clippings on a classified basis from all major Pakistani papers of Afghan related subjects,
2. Monitoring since November 12, 1985, the BBC and Voice of America's Afghan services and transcribing them and filing them on a classical basis.
3. Receiving the FBIS radio broadcast through the USIS office in Islamabad. From them we separate all Afghan related material for our files and classify them.
4. Interviewing important Afghan commanders and informed sources on history of war in Afghanistan. We record their voices. Then transcribe them and keep the voices and their transcriptions on classified basis.
5. Receiving through Mr. Mohammad Ibrahim Kandahari (an Afghan who has had a wealth of information about many contemporaries Afghans) facts and data on more than 200 Afghans. We file the information. The information will be used by researchers and is not intended for publication.
6. Purchasing books of various topic, though very few on subjects dealing with issues after 1975 in Afghanistan.
7. Preparing two kinds of card-catalogues for our library books: (a) subject-wise, (b) author-wise.

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CONCLUSION

In a few days time, I am going to send another letter in which I will make special proposals for increasing the number of

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schools and literacy centers, in case our "pilot" project is successful. But let us all prepare ourselves mentally and financially for a second round of work.

My overall assessment is that so far we have done more than we were expected. The very fact that we have prepared 54 books for Afghan children in these few months, in itself is a noteworthy accomplishment.

Our overall objective has been to integrate our activities with the ranks and files of the Afghan resistance. To achieve this, we have been in constant touch with mujaheddin leaders and other influential figures in the resistance in Pakistan and inside the country.

While in Sweden, I also had some frank and constructive discussion with Sixten Heppling, President of the Swedish-Afghan committee and an influential figure in that country. I told him about CCAR's desire to coordinate its educational activities with those of the Swedish Committee. This Committee -- now called Afghanistan Educational Committee -- has been preparing text books and running schools inside Afghanistan. But their books are old and obsolete as far as present Afghan conditions are concerned. I hope to convince them to adopt our books. After the Christmas-New Year holidays, I am going to meet the Swedish Ambassador here. Mr. Heppling has promised to communicate the gist of our discussions to the ambassador in the framework of his own desire for such cooperation.

Sincerely,
S. Kundlikhi

THE PAKISTAN TIMES

LAHORE, 24 RABI-US-SAAANI, 1406 A.H. — MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1986

Soviets may annex Pak areas to keep hold on Afghan land

BY A STAFF REPORTER

The Soviets might annex parts of Pakistani territory and give these to Afghanistan in return for Afghan areas which they wish to keep permanently under their occupation close to their border.

This grim 'Polish scenario' was recalled by Dr. Thomas E. Gouthierre, Director of International Studies and programmes and the Centre for Afghanistan Studies at the University of Nebraska, U.S.A., while reviewing the recent developments in Afghanistan and their regional and global impact, at the American Centre on Sunday evening.

The eminent U.S. scholar said the Soviets had already captured the Wakhan corridor and "they now have a border with Pakistan." There are no serious indications that they are willing to withdraw from Afghanistan. On the contrary, they are engaged in what Dr. Thomas termed migratory genocide. "Half of Khandar and vast areas of Herat have been devastated by the systematic Soviet bombardment".

In Pakia region, the Soviets are setting one tribe against the other in pursuance of a divide-and-rule strategy. And in areas close to its border they have embarked upon a 'policy of ethnicity'. This policy, according to the U.S. scholar, seeks to encourage Tajiks, Turkmans and Uzbeks to develop their own languages and culture to achieve uniformity with similar people living across the Soviet border.

In view of these actions, it is difficult to imagine that the Soviets might withdraw. Dr. Thomas concluded.

Ruling out the possibility of an early Soviet withdrawal he

said, "1986 is going to be a year of semantics". There would be discussions, more Geneva talks and meetings between President Reagan and the Soviet leader. Dr. Thomas said if Pakistan held negotiations with Babrak Karmal or other Soviet supported regime in Afghanistan, it would mean negotiating with an unrepresentative Government.

Dr. Thomas, however, said the Soviets would ultimately have to leave Afghanistan as their occupation has engendered a tremendous sense of nationalism amongst Afghan people. "There is a nation-wide passion for nationalism which never

existed before. Religion is the most important resource that they carry today."

"They are better equipped, better trained today to meet the Soviets and have developed a strategy to level off Soviet gains in Afghanistan."

Dr. Thomas said the U.S. and Pakistan "have a moral obligation" towards helping Afghanistan regain its independence. "We are only providing a sling shot to the David against Goliath", he remarked.

Dr. Thomas has lived for a long time in Afghanistan and speaks fluent Dari (Kabuli Persian).

THE MUSLIM

Monday, January 6, 1986

Afghan nationalism to foil Soviet ambition

LAHORE, Jan. 5: Prof. Thomas E. Gouttiere, an eminent United States expert on Afghanistan, today said that an upsurge in Afghan nationalism and its identification with religion would ensure ultimate withdrawal of the Soviets.

Thomas Gouttiere, Professor at the University of Nebraska, worked for nearly ten years in Afghanistan prior to assuming his present position, said latest trends showed that the Soviet leadership was becoming more flexible on this issue so as to work out a time-frame for withdrawal.

He said that Afghans were bound to regain freedom for their country because they were totally committed to their resistance movement. He said the Soviet invasion had given the people of Afghanistan a new sense of nationalism, which had never existed before in spite of that country's history of having never tolerated a foreign soldier on its soil. There had never been such a nationwide passion for being one nation before in Afghanistan, he added.

Mr Gouttiere said the Afghans considered their resistance as a holy war, because religion was their most important resource. However, the Afghans during the past six years had become so fiercely nationalistic that they would fight the same way against any aggression.

He said the task to find a workable way for the withdrawal of Soviet troops was difficult, but this was the only solution available for the resolution of this problem.

He said the Soviets should have

known better that the Afghans would never tolerate any foreign soldier on their territory. However it seemed that they undervalued the initial risk of sending the troops because they expected too much out of Babrak Karmal.

He said it was a matter of great credit for the Afghans that they had been able to achieve a position of stand-off against a superpower. Each time the Soviets increased the number of their troops or changed strategy, the Afghan "Mujahideen" changed their tactics accordingly. He said today the situation in Afghanistan for the Soviet Union was much more difficult than six years ago when they marched into Afghanistan.

Professor Gouttiere, who can also read, speak and write Dari (Kabuli Persian) fluently, said the people of Afghanistan had greatly gained in political maturity during the past six years. He said their success in the resistance movement was largely due to the fact that they had a realistic understanding of their limitations. Presently a great test of wills was going on in Afghanistan, he added.

He predicted that 1986 would be a year of semantics during which there would be lot of negotiations, but no actual withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Professor Gouttiere said the people of the United States considered it their moral obligation to help the people of Afghanistan. There was also a great admiration for Pakistan because of the generous help this country was providing to more than three million Afghan refugees.—APP

THE MUSLIM-3

Wednesday, January 8, 1986

Lecture on 'World opinion, Afghan issue'

KARACHI, Jan. 7: An American expert, Mr. Thomas E. Goutierre, will be the guest speaker at a lecture-cum-discussion programme on "world opinion and the Afghanistan crisis" at the American Center here on Jan. 13.

According to a press release, the programme is being organised by the United States Information Service, Karachi, and will commence at 4.30 p.m.

Mr. Goutierre worked in Afghanistan in the mid-1960's in the peace corps and was in Kabul from 1969-70 as a Fulbright scholar.

From 1971 to 1974 he served as Executive director of the Afghan-American Educational Commission in Kabul.

Mr. Goutierre has frequently criticised human rights violations in Afghanistan, and took part in the second Afghanistan session of the permanent people's tribunal in Paris in end-1982, and attended a similar conference on Afghanistan in the French capital in spring, 1985.

Currently Mr. Goutierre is Director, International Studies and Programme and head of the Center for Afghanistan Studies, University of Nebraska, Omaha (U.S.A.).—APP

THE MUSLIM

Tuesday, January 14, 1986

Afghan resistance will expand, says U.S. expert

BUREAU REPORT

KARACHI, Jan 13: Prof. Thomas Goutierre, a U.S. expert on Afghanistan, has said that although the war in Afghanistan will not end in 1986, he is confident that Afghan Mujahideen will expand their areas of control in that country.

In his lecture at the American Center here this afternoon on the subject of Afghanistan, he profusely praised the resistance movement inside the country and was hopeful that the seven Mujahideen groups who have united will further beef up their cooperation in the months to come.

He did not agree with the notion that the Reagan-Gorbachev summit has worked out some understanding between the two superpowers and was of the view that it was the Soviet Union which was now gradually realizing the increasing cost of its occupation and would like to withdraw when it reached the conclusion that it was beyond its reach.

He said according to his estimate the Soviets and Babrak Karmal both would continue with the "semantics of talks with Pakistan" during the current year but at the same time would press that Pakistan should somehow recognise the Karmal regime and hold direct talks with it.

Prof. Goutierre expressed his disappointment over the soft-peddling of the issue by the Islamic Conference and not declaring a holy war (jihad) against the Russians.

He said, already the Russians have lost between 15 to 50 thousand of their men in Afghanistan and even if the figure is 15,000 it is a big number. The ordinary Russian, he said, would not like to die and waste his resources for a country like Afghanistan.

At the same time he was of the view that the Russian policy on Afghanistan has not changed for a hundred years and it is the same during the rule of the communists as it was during the Czar.

According to him, for a settlement of the issue it is necessary that efforts should continue to be made on the two fronts, that is the military front or war front and the diplomatic front. The U.S. and war should continue, he remarked.

Prof. Goutierre said Babrak

Karmal has not been able to consolidate his position and although he does not see his immediate fall, Najibullah is being groomed and there is another important man called Salaman Lasi who should be watched. He said Babrak will fly out as soon as the Soviets withdraw.

He did not agree with a questioner that the United States is committing a mistake by helping the Muslim Mujahideen as some of them are as fundamentalist as their Iranian counterparts. According to him, they are not that type of Islamists. "They are very sophisticated and they understand world politics very well", he observed.

In rationalizing U.S. support for the "Afghan liberation movement" he said "after all we are all Ahle-khab".

**United States
Information
Service**

American Embassy, Doha

(Phone: 241-1111)



The U.S. Information Service

will sponsor a lecture by

PROF. THOMAS GOUTTIERRE

Director of the Center for Afghanistan Studies

at the University of Nebraska at Omaha

American Consulate General, Dhahran

Tuesday, January 14, 1986

4:00 p.m.

"The Current Situation in Afghanistan"

SAUDI GAZETTE

SAUDI ARABIA'S NATIONAL DAILY

Wednesday, January 8, 1986

Soviets plan annexation of Northern Afghanistan

(BAGHDAD, Jan 8) (AP)

THE Soviet Union may eventually annex Northern Afghanistan and incorporate it into its own territory as part of a future agreement in which it might agree to withdraw from the central Asian nation, according to an Afghan expert.

Prof. Thomas Gouttiere, Director of the Center for Afghan Studies at the University of Nebraska, said there have been growing indications in the Soviet media and elsewhere that Moscow is moving towards annexing Northern Afghanistan.

The Soviet media no longer talks of Northern Afghanistan as foreign territory and Soviet officials have announced a number of plans for long-term development projects in the region, he said.

Northern Afghanistan, with its extensive water and mineral resources, would be a major asset in helping the Soviet Union to develop its own South Asian Republic, Gouttiere said. Plans to annex the North would help explain why the Soviets have not caused as much damage in the North as compared to their scorched earth policies in Southern Afghanistan, he said.

"We need to be very aware about the prospect of this development," he said.

Gouttiere, in a lecture on the Afghan crisis, said the Soviet government might be contemplating a course in Afghanistan comparable to its actions in Eastern Europe after World War II when Moscow took territory from Finland and Czechoslovakia and gave those countries land from what was now East Germany.

There are an estimated 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan supporting the Moscow-backed Communist regime which is battling a nationwide insurgency by Mujahideen.

The Soviet government may take Northern Afghanistan and attempt to compensate the Afghan government with parts of Northern Pakistan that would be acquired by fomenting tribal revolts along Pakistan's troubled northern frontier, Gouttiere suggested.

Recent Soviet indications that it may be more flexible on settling the Afghan issue could indicate Moscow was willing to consider a settlement in which it would retain the north of the country, he said.

January 15, 1986

The education needs of the Afghan people will be the subject of a study by the University of Nebraska at Omaha's Office of International Studies and Programs in collaboration with the Academy for Educational Development.

The U.S. Agency for International Development has awarded the two organizations a \$48,000 grant to study programs at the elementary, secondary, and college levels for Afghans living in their own country and for Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

Thomas Gouttierre, director of international studies at the university, said that the number of schools in Afghanistan had declined sharply since the Soviet invasion in 1979.

"The Afghan people have been very concerned about the attempts to 'Sovietize' the education system of their homeland," he added. Many families have refused to send their children to Soviet-controlled schools.

Mr. Gouttierre said that more than three million Afghan refugees were living in Pakistan. The project will investigate the possibility of providing scholarships for Afghans who want to attend a college or university in Pakistan, he added.

UNO Specialist Defends U.S. Aid To Afghans

Dhahran, Saudi Arabia (AP) — J. University of Nebraska at Omaha specialist on Afghanistan, now visiting Saudi Arabia, has underscored the importance of U.S. aid in helping the Afghan resistance consolidate control of territory it holds.

Still, Thomas Goutierre, director of international studies at UNO, had to fend off critics at a lecture here Tuesday night. The critics chided the United States for not providing enough aid to the Afghan movement fighting the six-year-old Soviet occupation.

Goutierre was on a speaking tour of U.S. diplomatic missions in the Middle East. He was fresh from a trip to Pakistan, where he delivered lectures and consulted with Afghan rebels headquartered in Peshawar, Pakistan.

Islamic Principles

In the lecture, and in an interview with the Jidda-based newspaper Saudi Gazette, he said the resistance — known as the Mujahideen — controls up to 85 percent of the country and the Soviets control 15 percent, mainly cities.

The rebel program follows Islamic principles and is financed largely by the U.S. government's humanitarian aid, the paper quoted him Wednesday as saying.

The program is part of a strategy to encourage people to remain in Afghanistan, "to make them ... feel they've got a future there," Goutierre said.

The program is also a reaction against a Soviet effort to take Afghan children to the Soviet Union for schooling. About 20,000 children have been sent to the Soviet Union so far, Goutierre said.

Goutierre was quoted in the Gazette as criticizing the lack of support from Islamic countries for the Afghan rebels. He said Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Oman were the only Islamic supporters. The rest of the support, he said, has come from the Christian-dominated west.

"Clearly we have a situation here where the enemy of the Afghan people are clearly non-believers," he said, apparently referring to the Soviet practice of promoting atheism.

'Abkul Kitab'

In the United States, "we understand that Christians are not unbelievers. There's more of a religious reason to declare holy war (against the Soviets) than in other politically hot areas," he said.

In his speech at the U.S. Consulate in Dhahran, Goutierre included Jews as members of the "Abkul Kitab," or People of a Divine Book, who are respected by Islam for worshipping the same god.

"They (the Afghan rebels) have called for Jihad," a Moslem term meaning holy war, Goutierre said. But they are distressed that other Islamic countries have not taken up the call.

"Libya doesn't vote on behalf of Afghanistan in the United Nations. Syria doesn't, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) doesn't," he said.

But the Arab audience at the lecture criticized the United States for not going far enough to aid the rebels. The United States provides only humanitarian aid to the rebels.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1986

U.S. expert sees no early solution to Afghan crisis

By Shahid Orakzai
Special to Arab News

DHAHRAN, Jan. 16 — An American professor who spent about 10 years in Kabul believes that the Afghan problem could not be resolved in the next couple of years and says 1986 would be another year of fruitless discussions on the question and would bring more misery to the people of the occupied country.

In a lecture at the United States Information Section (USIS) here on Tuesday, Professor Thomas E. Gouttierre who stayed for a decade in Afghanistan said the insistence of direct talks between Kabul and Islamabad and the desire for power sharing with non-Communists were part of the Soviet tactics.

He said unlike the Americans in Vietnam, the Russians had made no attempts to win the hearts of the people in Afghanistan and at the same time had "no philosophical impediments to genocide. The Soviets are not interested in the Afghan people but only in their real estate," he commented.

Professor Gouttierre explained at length the Soviet counterinsurgency strategy which had divided Afghanistan into seven military

zones. The military thrust was primarily in the southeast (areas bordering Pakistan) and the Panjsher where resistance could threaten the all-weather Salang tunnel, the Soviet supply line. The American expert, who has lived among the Afghans as a Peace Corps volunteer, was highly impressed with the ideological growth of the resistance and even its military caliber. He said the Afghans had developed a national liberation philosophy with its foundations in Islam and the anti-Russian movement had enhanced a sense of nationalism in the multiethnic people who equally treasured freedom and shared martial traditions.

He insisted that the Afghan war was not a war between "two superpowers" but a conflict between the Soviets and Afghans in which the Americans wanted to help the oppressed.

He argued that the U.S. support of Afghan cause came from the "grass roots" and was voiced more by the Capitol Hill than the White House. He cited the case of a senator who had moved Congress to put pressure on the Reagan administration to extend the much-needed support to Mujahedeen. But he added that the United States and other supporters of resistance could not deliver the arms to the freedom fighters because of the reservations of the present regime in Pakistan and Iran's relationship with the West. But at the same time, he reported that the Mujahedeen's victories in recent battles showed they had modern anti-aircraft and anti-tank arsenals of non-Soviet origin. Stating that the resistance had downed 97 aircraft in a 10-day Soviet assault on Panjsher, he said such a score could not be managed by weapons that few Afghan army deserters could deliver to the resistance.

Professor Gouttierre voiced resistance's complaints about the lack of support from the Islamic and Arab world, particularly the attitude of some Arab states.

He however made no reference to the treatment the Afghan issue received at the last U.S.-Soviet summit in Geneva. Saudi members of the audience challenged his statements that American support for Afghans was based on human rights and invited him to explain the U.S. policy in South Africa if not in Palestine. The questions followed one of his remarks that the Arabs should view the Americans as "Ahl-e Kitab" (people bestowed with a holy scripture) and should not treat them at par with the Soviets (the non-believers).

Afghans will fight it out

U.S. expert sees no hope for accord this year

Tom Lavell
Saudi Gazette staff
COLUMN 4A

THE Soviet will have to leave Afghanistan eventually because of the strong Afghan resistance, but 1986 will probably not be the year the conflict is settled, according to a visiting U.S. expert on Afghanistan.

Dr Thomas Goutierre, Director of International studies and Programmes at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, made his remarks to an invited audience of about 20 during a talk at the U.S. consulate here in what officials say may be the first of a series of guest lectures.

Goutierre, in an interview with *Saudi Gazette* earlier in the day, said the Afghan Mujahideen's movement was organising schools as a way to consolidate their control over 85 percent of Afghanistan territory.

The belief that if they could run humanitarian services there, he said, people would be more willing to stay and build their future even in the face of Soviet attacks.

In recent months, the Soviet Union and the Babrak Karmal regime in Afghanistan had been making statements hinting at a withdrawal of Soviet forces and at talks with Pakistan.

Goutierre said, however, that such statements were simply words and won't be borne out in fact.

"1986 will be a year of semantics," he told the

audience. "There will be much discussion but, I think we'll see much more suffering in Afghanistan."

The Afghan resistance would win, he said, because the Afghan people are tough, determined fighters.

"The Afghans feel they've lost everything dear to them — freedom and independence," he said. "They are not greatly inclined toward materialism. They bring with them (to the fight) a great martial spirit."

The U.S. gives only humanitarian aid to the Mujahideen, Goutierre told the audience.

In his interview with the *Gazette*, Goutierre said part of that aid was helping finance the schools organised by the Mujahideen using a combination of modern techniques and traditional teaching from the Quranic schools of Afghanistan.

Those schools, he said, would also help counteract the Soviet programme of forcing children to go to the Soviet Union for education — a programme he charged converts the children into Soviets rather than Afghans.

During the lecture, one questioner said the U.S. was willing to give military aid to El-Salvador but not to the Mujahideen. Goutierre said Washington had to follow the wishes of the Mujahideen's hosts, Pakistan, which itself did not want to become embroiled in the children's hostilities with Afghan and the Soviets.

Giving military aid directly to the Afghan was not as easy as giving it to anti-Communist forces in Central America because Afghanistan was landlocked and all aid must pass through other countries, he said.

Goutierre praised the Pakistani role in taking in two to three million refugees from Afghanistan.

"When historians write the history of the 20th century, the charitable chapter the Pakistanis have written will be among the brighter chapters," Goutierre told the audience.

Another audience member, a Pakistani, said the U.S. aid to the Mujahideen was "counter-productive," because the refugees remained alienated in Pakistan. He said that the country had become a "displeased host," unwilling to participate or to let the resistance fight.

But Goutierre replied that the Afghans wouldn't want Pakistan's involvement and would look on the Pakistanis as another invader.

Another listener said fighters from other Islamic countries were indeed helping the Mujahideen. He accused the U.S. government of "using the Afghan case as a bone in the larger game against the USSR."

Goutierre conceded that the U.S. foreign policy was usually a reaction to U.S. domestic concerns.

"Americans aren't as consistent as you'd like them to be," he said. "But I bridle at the statements that we don't do anything."

Soviets hint at Afghan annexation, expert says

By Aaron R. Einfrank
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — The Soviet Union may be planning to annex a large area of Afghanistan as part of any negotiated settlement of the war, a leading U.S. expert on Afghan affairs said yesterday.

Professor Thomas Gouttierre, director of the Center of Afghan Studies at the University of Nebraska, told The Washington Times that recent statements by the Soviet government and media hint at a bid to annex northern Afghanistan.

He said the West should encourage Moscow's peace feelers on the Afghan war, but expressed concern that the Kremlin seems to be treating northern Afghanistan as Soviet territory.

Mr. Gouttierre explained that the Soviets already are absorbing northern Afghanistan economically through development projects linked with the So-

viet Union's Tajik, Uzbek and Turkmen republics.

He specifically referred to the exploitation of Afghan natural resources, particularly natural gas, which is being sent to the Soviet Central Asian republics directly across the border without any export agreements being negotiated through the central governments in Moscow and Kabul.

Mr. Gouttierre said that Soviet policy could be aimed at trying to join the Tajik, Uzbek and Turkmen ethnic groups who live on both sides of the Afghan-Soviet border. But he said the Soviets would have little success if they tried this scheme.

Mr. Gouttierre said that Afghans, — whether ethnic Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, Baluchis or Pushtoons — are united in opposing annexation and in fighting to drive the Soviet invaders out of the country. "The struggle against the Soviet forces in the northern tier is going quite

well for the resistance," he added.

Mr. Gouttierre said that Moscow might be considering what he called the "Polish model" under which, at the end of World War II, Poland received German territories in return for Polish territories annexed by the Soviet Union.

Using this strategy, Moscow might try to seize northern Afghanistan while giving Afghanistan parts of Pakistan that are inhabited by Baluchi and Pushtoon ethnic groups. The Baluchis and Pushtoons live on both sides of the Afghan-Pakistan border.

"The Afghans will never accept any loss of their territory. If Western or other countries tried to work out a deal with Moscow that included annexation, the resistance and the Afghan people as a whole would never accept such a deal. This would only prolong the war," Mr. Gouttierre said.

Mr. Gouttierre said the Soviets had already annexed, de facto, the Wakhan cor-

ridor in northeastern Afghanistan, which previously served as a buffer area between Soviet territory and Pakistan. He said the corridor, which reaches to the borders of China, must be vacated by the occupiers.

Mr. Gouttierre was especially critical of those in the West who want Pakistan to negotiate with the puppet regime of Afghan President Babrak Karmal, saying it was absurd for them to accept such a demand from Moscow.

"How can Karmal speak for the Afghan people when 99 percent of them oppose him and the Soviets?" he asked.

Referring to the Afghan ruler as a "puppet" and a "quishing," Mr. Gouttierre said "If the Soviets leave, Mr. Karmal will have about 30 seconds to make peace with his maker before he is done in by the people."

The scholar, who said he met Mr. Karmal during his residence in Afghanistan, said "Karmal is now reviled by the Afghans as the most treacherous and treasonous character in the history of the country."